

Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
The Fund for the Republic, Inc.
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of Democratic
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Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.
Box 4546, Santa Barbara, California 93103

Office of the President
Robert M. Hutchins

Dear Reader:

We would like to send you, with the compliments of the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, a copy of a unique new publication -- The Center Magazine. At the same time, we will reserve a membership in the Center in your name -- subject to your decision after you see the magazine.

You probably already know something about the Center, and so can anticipate what The Center Magazine will be like. At the Center, distinguished guests like Arnold Toynbee, Pierre Mendes-France, Stuart Chase, Senator J. William Fulbright, Fred W. Friendly, Jaques Barzun and U Thant and staff members like Harry S. Ashmore, W. H. Ferry, Bishop James A. Pike, Linus Pauling, Stringfellow Barr and Rexford G. Tugwell meet and conduct dialogues in which are examined the major institutions of the 20th Century in the light of their impact on democracy. They discuss the great questions of the day -- such as war and peace, church and state, automation and human values. As you can imagine, these discussions are lively, the observations and conclusions arresting and thought-provoking.

A number of these discussions -- printed and circulated as "Occasional Papers" or presented in book form -- have had a profound effect upon the thought of many opinion-makers and have led to major policy decisions in our country. For instance, one consultant to the Center, Michael Harrington, is the author of "The Other America" -- which is credited with convincing President Kennedy he should begin the poverty program. The Center was also a leader in focusing attention on the impact of automation. Its booklet, "Cybernation: The Silent Conquest," stirred discussion throughout the United States and resulted in the appointment of a Presidential commission on the subject. The Center continues to identify other equally important issues and cast fresh light on them.

As an indication of what you may expect in future issues of The Center Magazine, recent "Occasional Papers" issued by the Center included "So Reason Can Rule: The Constitution Revisited," "Students and Society" and "The Vietnam War: The President versus the Constitution."

Reports on Center dialogues are now published in The Center Magazine, under the editorship of John Cogley, who returned recently to the Center staff after serving as an editor of The New York Times. I think you will find the new magazine stimulating

and enjoyable reading. But more than that, I invite you to participate in these dialogues, yourself, through The Center Magazine. A major section of each issue is set aside for correspondence from our members; not merely the kind of correspondence which flatters or denounces, but the kind which extends, deepens, corrects and amplifies the dialogues reported each month.

We hope The Center Magazine will offer a new medium of exchange for men and women who are concerned about the great social, political and cultural problems of our time; requirements for world peace, human control of mass media and the quality of American education.

What will you find in each bimonthly issue? There are reports of discussions by guests and staff members. Some discussions are published in full. Others are a distillation of the central argument as presented by the guests. There are articles by staff members on aspects of large issues. There are reviews of major books on subjects and problems close to the Center's own interests.

For instance, appearing in recent issues were pieces by Harvey Wheeler, "The Politics of Revolution," Elisabeth Mann Borgese on "The Republic of the Deep Seas" and Bishop C. Edward Crowther on South African Apartheid.

It is the Center's conviction that if men and women who are leaders of contemporary thought are brought together to discuss the basic issues of the day within the ideal environment of the Center, we may expect a clearer understanding of the issues and ourselves. The Center Magazine makes the discussions available to a wider audience of thoughtful men and women who would like to sit in on these dialogues.

The Center Magazine is available only to Center members, who may also receive without additional cost all Center publications and reports, including at least five "Occasional Papers." You are invited to join our membership.

Membership is welcome in categories from \$10 to \$1,000 or more a year. The cost of the Center's publications program averages more than \$10 per member. Contributions in higher categories make \$10 memberships possible. Therefore, when members make contributions in categories greater than \$10 a year it is then possible for the Center to widen its circles of discussion more effectively.

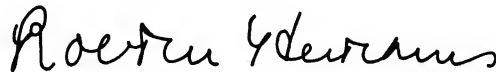
In the interests of widening those circles of discussion, we would like to offer to you a membership at \$10 a year.

After you see the current issue you can decide. The Center will mail to you this issue in a format suitable for a permanent place in your library, without cost or obligation.

At the same time, we will reserve for you a one-year \$10 membership -- subject to your decision after examining the current issue. With that issue we will send to you a statement for your \$10 contribution. At that time, you either may make the \$10 contribution payment if you wish to continue, or simply write "cancel" across the statement and return it -- in which case your reservation will be canceled and that will be the end of the matter.

I hope that we may count you as a member for the year ahead. But in any case, please accept our invitation to examine a copy of The Center Magazine. I believe you will find it both interesting and stimulating.

Sincerely,



Robert M. Hutchins
President

P.S. Please forgive us if you are already a member of the Center -- or if you have received more than one of these invitations. This invitation has been mailed to selected lists which cannot always be checked to eliminate duplication. We hope that you will understand and pass this invitation along to an interested friend.

T/RMH

THE CENTER MAGAZINE



Warsaw 68

Harvey Wheeler on The Politics of Revolution

Democracy is not self-executing. We have to make it work, and to make it work we have to understand it. Sober thought and fearless criticism are impossible without critical thinkers and thinking critics. Such persons must be given the opportunity to come together, to see new facts in the light of old principles and evaluate old principles in the light of new facts by deliberation, debate, and dialogue. This, as we all know well, though some of us forget from time to time, requires intellectual independence, impenitent speculation, and freedom from political pressure. For democracy's need for wisdom will remain as perennial as its need for liberty. Not only external vigilance but unending self-examination must be the perennial price of liberty, because the work of self-government never ceases. The work of an institution like the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions will be required as long as final salvation eludes us, which will be until the end of time.

Adlai E. Stevenson, 1963

From the table
of contents
of recent issues
of The
Center Magazine

VIOLENCE AND THE HOME OF THE BRAVE

Is the resort to the violent solution peculiarly American—or merely human? Stringfellow Barr, Hallock Hoffman, Frank K. Kelly, Bishop James A. Pike and John Wilkinson give varying answers.

THE PLIGHT OF THE PARTIES

A conversation among Harry S. Ashmore, John L. Perry, Stanley K. Sheinbaum and Harvey Wheeler about the decaying state of political parties in the United States.

THE UNIVERSITY: MASK FOR PRIVILEGE?

A caustic analysis of contemporary higher education by philosopher Richard Lichtman, with rejoinders by Paul Goodman, Michael Harrington, Clark Kerr, Leo McLaughlin and Rosemary Park.

NEW CITIES FOR AMERICA

Noted city planner Edgardo Contini urges the urban revolution be viewed as was the industrial revolution: as an extraordinary opportunity for joint exercise of public commitment and private ingenuity.

Some recent Center Occasional Papers

"STUDENTS AND SOCIETY"

Student activists and Center Fellows, frequently at odds, discuss the nature and tactics of "student power" in a sometimes shocking but always insightful analysis of America's troubled campuses. Heeding their complaint that the older generation was not listening, the Center invited a cross-section of student activists to "tell it as it really is." The resulting Occasional Paper is now widely acclaimed as an accurate early warning of what was to take place on campus after campus.

"SO REASON CAN RULE: THE CONSTITUTION REVISITED"

In his last Center publication before his death, Center Fellow Scott Buchanan speaks up for the Supreme Court—regarded by many as pulling the nation toward dangerous centralized control—as a liberating force which stimulates diverse solutions to local problems. The former Dean of St. John's College argues that the current use of the Supreme Court of the Fourteenth Amendment to give uniformity to the provisions of the Civil Rights Act, the reapportionment of electoral districts and the procedural codes for criminal trials in the states has the appearance of imposed unity but that in reality these "will blossom in many diverse solutions of local problems... new liberties and rights."

FAREWELL TO INTEGRATION/FAREWELL HELL!

W. H. Ferry finds separatism as the answer to the racial crisis. In rebuttal, John L. Perry calls for continuing the fight for integration.

GENERAL ALSOP'S WAR AND HOW IT ESCALATED

Edward Engberg traces the flight of a hawk.

BREAKTHROUGH AT BERKELEY

Michael Rossman traces the history of the Free Speech Movement and sees it as the beginning of a true political community.

THE AMERICAN DILEMMA: 1967

Gunnar Myrdal is interviewed on race relations today in the light of his famous book of twenty-five years ago.

THE POLITICS OF REVOLUTION

All revolutions are tales of two cities, says Harvey Wheeler in an exhaustive discussion of the new revolutionary society.

THE RELUCTANT DEATH OF SOVEREIGNTY

Arnold Toynbee says that if the human race is to survive, it will have to abandon the idea of national sovereignty.

THE REPUBLIC OF THE DEEP SEAS

Elisabeth Mann Borgese, reporting on a Center conference, says mankind's next frontier lies in the depths of the ocean and asks whether man will be wise enough to develop it for the good of all.

EAST-WEST: THE BEGINNING OF A DIALOGUE

Can dialogue replace cold war in the confrontation between Eastern and Western Europe? Herbert Marcuse, Austrian editor Guenther Nenning and Franz Cardinal Koenig, Archbishop of Vienna, reply.

THE SACRED CITY

Trappist monk Thomas Merton evokes the ancient Zapotecan culture of Monte Albán in Mexico for a lesson in how to maintain a peaceful, stable civilization.

"THE VIETNAM WAR: THE PRESIDENT VERSUS THE CONSTITUTION"

Veteran political scientist Francis D. Wormuth contends America's war in Vietnam is unconstitutional, and both the Congress and the President are to blame. In a thoroughly documented review of the development of war-making powers under the Constitution, he accuses Congress of unconstitutionally delegating those powers to the chief executive and the President of unconstitutionally usurping them from the legislative branch. "If we continue to follow the easy downward course of executive aggrandizement," he writes, "our republican institutions will become as unsubstantial as those of Rome."

"VIETNAM: MATTERS FOR THE AGENDA"

In what might be described as a concerned citizen's handbook for understanding the Vietnam peace talks, the Center presents a suggested agenda of issues which must be faced if negotiations are to be successful beyond the preliminary jockeying for position between the United States and Vietnam. With an introduction by Harry S. Ashmore, Center Executive Vice President, who was involved in North Vietnam as part of the channels through which Hanoi and Washington were groping toward diplomatic contact, the Occasional Paper also contains an independent on-the-scene analysis of the South Vietnamese elections, a report by David Schoenbrun on the Viet Cong and Hanoi minimum terms of settlement, a proposal by Buddhist scholar Thich Nhat Hanh for a neutralist buffer between Viet Cong and anti-Communists, a recommendation for neutralization of Southeast Asia by General Said Uddin Khan, former chief of the UN peacekeeping mission in Indonesia, and a collection of pertinent background papers.

**New Members of The Center Will Receive
A Complimentary Copy of Its New Book**

MISSION TO HANOI

**A Chronicle of Double-Dealing in High Places
A Special Report from
The Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions**

**BY
HARRY S. ASHMORE
AND
WILLIAM C. BAGGS**

**With a Chronicle of American Involvement in Vietnam
by Elaine H. Burnell**

“MISSION TO HANOI” is an eye-opening record of how the United States has formulated and conducted its policies in Vietnam. While billions of dollars have been spent and thousands of American lives have been lost, internal dissensions have racked official Washington, and national interest has been tossed to the winds as President Johnson, Congress and Cabinet waged a bitter war of their own.

The authors bluntly indict the President for employing “rhetorical overkill” in his effort to pursue a hard-line military policy while still professing to seek a negotiated settlement: “Lyndon Johnson, of course, cannot thus play fast and loose with his Vietnamese adversaries without subjecting his own people to the same kind of double-dealing.”

This penetrating report is the work of two veteran journalists, Harry S. Ashmore (Pulitzer prize-winning editor and author and Executive Vice President of the Center) and William C. Baggs (editor of the *Miami News*) whose journeys to North Vietnam at critical junctures in the past two years were authorized by the State Department. Here they recount the events which made them a key link between Washington and Hanoi during the maneuvering which led to the Paris talks, and offer their appraisal of “an extraordinary exercise in duplicity.”

Because of its timely significance and importance, “MISSION TO HANOI” is being issued to all members of the Center; as a new Member you will receive a copy without cost.

CENTER MEMBERSHIP RESERVATION CARD

TO: Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions
Box 4546, Santa Barbara, California 93103

Please Check One:

☐ Please send to me, without cost or obligation, a copy of the current issue of *The Center Magazine*, and reserve a membership in the Center in my name at \$10 for one year. After examination of *The Center Magazine*, I may either cancel my membership reservation or, if I choose, I may remit \$10 as payment in full for my contribution for one year, which also brings me an additional six bi-monthly issues of *The Center Magazine* as well as all of the "Center Occasional Papers" as they appear. I understand that I may keep the advance copy of *The Center Magazine* without cost in any case.

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☐ Supporting Member
\$500 or more a year

☐ Contributing Member
\$50 or more a year

☐ Associate Member
\$10 or more a year

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On contributions exceeding \$10, the amount in excess of \$10 is tax-deductible.

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(Gift memberships are \$10 each) I enclose my check for \$_____ in payment

I understand that of my total contribution (a minimum of \$10) a part (\$5) is set aside for my six bi-monthly copies of *The Center Magazine*, another part (\$5) is set aside to bring me a minimum of five "Center Occasional Papers." The cost of the Center's publication program averages more than \$10 per member. Contributions in higher categories make \$10 membership possible. On contributions exceeding \$10, the amount in excess of \$10 is tax-deductible.

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